/106 cont./

648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and [101 181] subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pešu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire
● 123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of
361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed.
123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to
[177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

/107 cont./

● 123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

/109 cont./

124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and
[123] generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they
[522] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a
157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation,
521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of
522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light,
[83] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found
522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes
157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually
609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers
522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they
159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one
[797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
159 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

• 123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.

[123] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.

[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/117 cont./

342 761 783 [782] [773] [628] 961 783 ● 123 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 761 783 756 787 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground; rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/172 cont./

623 title of gobernador. In Paez this corresponds to the designation tôtens. At his side, in Calderas, stands the gobernador suplente as his representative; other functionaries are the alcalde /see the glossary, p. 248 / (in Paez ka'nas), of whom there are two in Calderas, the alcalde mayor and the alcalde menor, furthermore two fiscales, three comisarios, and one comisario escolar, as well as an alguacil. The composition of the cabildo in Santa Rosa is the following: a gobernador, an alcalde, a fiscal, a comisario escolar, and an alguacil. In Lame there are a gobernador, a gobernador suplente, two fiscales, one comisario, and one alguacil. The cabildo in Togoima consists of the gobernador, the gobernador suplente, two alcaldes, two fiscales, three comisarios, one comisario escolar, and one alguacil. Aside from the double and triple occupancies, the composition of the cabildo is the same in the four villages. It should be noted that there are Paez words only for the gobernador and the alcalde; Spanish designations are used for the rest of the functionaries.

623 554 The authority of the gobernador as the leader of the village rests more on his personal prestige than on official means of power. He must therefore be very cautious with his regulations and instructions. He has the collectively conceived decisions of the village council carried out with respect to road or bridge building or the repair of the church, the school, or the community house. While his regulations remain within the scope of what the great majority of the village also regards as good, the collectivity exerts strong pressure on those who stand apart. In flagrant instances of apartness, however, he has quite drastic measures at his disposal, which, though they are today no longer as strictly wielded as formerly, can nevertheless be very effective in the hands of an energetic gobernador. It is taken for granted, however, that the gobernador acts neither unjustly nor arbitrarily, sets a good example in all undertakings, and is active first and last in the communal work. How little the gobernador is in a position to issue arbitrary orders within his village may be illustrated by the following example: One Saturday the gobernador

[626] 123 623 554

/172 cont./

123 623 554 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning [476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a community project for all the men of the village in clearing a field. Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and 123 623 554 411 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work. Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to [435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore, the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here- 123 623 554 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the implement, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that the work would not take place until a few days later. He could not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before. He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not

/173 cont./
123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
621 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
623 which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovẽnyi or pẽtãm
father and son together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [159] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that [825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of [237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married.
Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
● 123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/200 cont./

461 On one day, for example, a portion of the field is cleared of weeds, on the next the sugar-cane mill is repaired, on the day after that a neighbor is helped with housebuilding or milling sugar cane, then nothing is done for days because of drinking, and not until several days later is the weeding begun again. Once they have planned or begun a project for the day, however, they [123] will not let themselves be interrupted. Several times it happened that I would visit a family in the evening, in order to plan something which would be not at all unpleasant for them for the next day. But if they had already planned something else, I was obliged to come back on the day after that. In the fields, too, the men are not to be diverted, or only with difficulty. During the sowing, weeding, clearing, or other work on the field, they let themselves be drawn into conversation only during the coca pauses; at other times one could scarcely disturb them at these and similar tasks which are accomplished in a very even tempo -- provided that enough coca is available. It is different with the women. They let themselves be easily diverted from their daily, little varied household tasks. They are the ones who really do the most work within the family, for, as soon as they are married, they are never able to sleep through the night, /201/ but must stir the fire anew every two hours. Furthermore, they get up earlier in the morning, and they cannot go to bed until later at night. To rest a bit during the day is completely unknown. Nonetheless, they are satisfied with their lot and work happily, since all the women work in the same fashion and they have known nothing else for generations. There are, of course, tasks which are done willingly and others which are done less willingly. The goal of the necessary occupation seems to be decisive, for all the tasks necessary for nourishment are done willingly. Thus, the men, for example, like to work in the field, "since it is for food," like to plant sugar cane or build a sugar mill, "since it produces something to drink"; and the women, too, like to drag in firewood, [296] "since it is for meals." Washing clothes is one of the decidedly [499] unpleasant tasks of the women, as bridge-building is among the [462] men. In the examples sketched here, the tastes of all the Paez seem to be alike.

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čáčanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and [291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
● 123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/205 cont./

578 I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the
● [123] same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be
[177] summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

462
857

	Men	Women	Children
Clearing a piece of land	x		
Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat	x		
Sowing cabbage and beans	x	x	
Sowing gourds and cucumbers	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat	x	x	

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship, [123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, ¥sũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyic if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyic may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries.

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy.

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood.

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV,[1] and VI).[2]

There may often be seen, either about or inside the house, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves.

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes.

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]

[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/180 cont./

123 133 [131] Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit 823 173 649 [133] [104] of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie

1. H = the English h.
   J = the French j.
   Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of ad- 173 823 venturers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva- [412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the [256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on 241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families 433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of [563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953. [124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some [123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The